

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MADRID 02295 070731Z

20

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

----- 018238

P 051545Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1484

S E C R E T MADRID 2295

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SP, US

SUBJECT: MCCLOSKEY AND STABLER CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA

1. AT CORTINA'S REQUEST, AMBASSADOR MCCLOSKEY AND AMBASSADOR STABLER CALLED ON HIM IN HIS OFFICE APR 5 JUST BEFORE AMB MCCLOSKEY'S DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON. THEY WERE ACCOMPANIED BY IBERIAN DIRECTOR LUKENS, SPANISH DELEGATION CHIEF, UNDER SECRETARY ROVIRA, AND DIRECTOR GENERAL OF NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS PERINAT ALSO WERE PRESENT.

2. CORTINA OPENED BY EXPLAINING THAT HE HAD BEEN FOLLOWING THE NEGOTIATIONS CLOSELY, INCLUDING MCCLOSKEY'S INTERVENTION APR 4 AFTER GOS TABLED PAPER REQUESTING REDUCTION IN FACILITIES. CORTINA THEN WENT INTO SAME ARGUMENTS USED BY ROVIRA APR 4, REGARDING CONTINUED USG USE FACILITIES IN SPAIN WHICH ARE NATO-RELATED. HE WENT ON TO EXPLAIN THAT US COMMAND STRUCTURE AND FACILITIES IN EUROPE WERE CONSEQUENCE OF ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, WHEREAS IN SPAIN THERE WAS NO SUCH GUARANTEE AND UMBRELLA ARRANGEMENT. CORTINA STRESSED THAT IT WAS NO LONGER TOLERABLE TO SPAIN THAT THOSE NATO COUNTRIES WHICH CONTINUE TO USE ALL MEANS OF PRESSURE TO INTERFERE WITH SPAIN'S INTERNAL REGIME SHOULD CONTINUE TO ENJOY, WITH NOTHING IN RETURN, THE EXTRA PROTECTION WHICH US FACILITIES IN SPAIN PROVIDE TO THE ALLIANCE. A NEW AGREEMENT, WHICH HE WAS SURE WE WOULD REACH, HAD TO HAVE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MADRID 02295 070731Z

TWO PILLARS--THE BILATERAL ONE AND THE ALLIANCE ONE. THE

PAPER WHICH ROVIRA HAD READ YESTERDAY ON THE REDUCTION OF FACILITIES WAS ONLY A "WORKING HYPOTHESIS". HOWEVER, HE WANTED US TO KNOW THE DIRECTION IN WHICH THE NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT HAVE TO GO IN THE ABSENCE OF THE NATO PILLAR, SINCE SPANISH PUBLIC OPINION WOULD NOT ACCEPT IN 1975 WHAT IT HAD IN 1953.

3. CORTINA THEN TURNED TO "EQUAL TREATMENT" ARGUMENT, USED IN ARTICLE 6 OF DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, STRESSING THAT SPAIN WANTS EQUALITY WITH EUROPEAN NATIONS.

4. MCCLOSKEY REPLIED BY INDICATING HIS UNDERSTANDING OF SPANISH ASPIRATIONS AND FRUSTRATIONS, NOTING THAT USG WOULD TRY TO CHANGE THIS IF IT WERE IN OUR POWER TO DO SO. HE WENT ON TO ADVISE CORTINA NOT TO TAKE COURSE OF ACTION WHICH WOULD LEAD TO DESTRUCTION OF BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WE ALREADY HAVE.

5. MCCLOSKEY WENT ON TO REITERATE WHAT HE HAD SAID IN FORMAL SESSIONS, THAT IS, THAT HE HAD COMMITMENT FROM THE SECRETARY TO MAKE SPECIAL EFFORT WITH NATO ON BEHALF OF SPAIN. MCCLOSKEY FELT THAT NEW MILITARY RELATIONSHIP SUGGESTED BY USDEL WAS A LOGICAL COMPLEMENT TO SPANISH DESIRE TO ESTABLISH A NEW MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US WHICH WOULD PARALLEL CLOSER RELATIONSHIPS TO NATO.

6. CORTINA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS GOOD IDEA AND HELPFUL TO MILITARY, BUT HE WISHED TURN CONVERSATION BACK TO POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP. HE SAID THAT BILATERAL AGREEMENT HAD TO BE WORKED OUT SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH NATO APPROACH AS PROBLEMS INTERTWINED. MCCLOSKEY CAUTIONED CORTINA, HOWEVER, THAT BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE TIED TO SPANISH RELATIONS WITH ALLIANCE. HE POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT THAT ARRANGEMENTS WITH NATO COULD BE WORKED OUT BY SEPTEMBER WHEN OUR BILATERAL AGREEMENT EXPIRES.

7. CORTINA THEN DISCUSSED GENSCHER VISIT. HE SAID THAT GENSCHER SAID FRG WOULD SUPPORT SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO AND HAD TOLD HIM THAT SPANISH AND GERMAN
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MADRID 02295 070731Z

SECURITY INTERESTS WERE CLOSELY INTERTWINED. GENSCHER HAD ALSO TOLD CORTINA THAT US PRESENCE IN EUROPE WAS INDISPENSABLE TO COHESION OF EUROPE AND WOULD IN ALL PROBABILITY BE NEEDED INDEFINITELY.

8. CORTINA WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE WOULD SEE FRENCH FOMIN IN NEXT TWO MONTHS TO SEEK FRENCH SUPPORT, AND HE RECALLED THAT WE HAD PROMISED TO DO SAME WITH UK. HE FELT

THAT WITH THESE DEMARCHES AND PRESTIGE OF USG BEHIND SPANISH POSITION, IT WOULD NOT BE IMPOSSIBLE COME UP WITH RIGHT FORMULA. WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS THE "POLITICAL WILL".

9. CORTINA THEN RETURNED TO SUBJECT OF NATO-RELATED FACILITIES, SPECIFICALLY MENTIONING SSBN'S AT ROTA, BUT ALSO REFERRING TO TRAINING FLIGHTS TO SPAIN AND OTHER FACILITIES WHICH HE CLAIMED SUPPORTED ALLIANCE. HE ARGUED THAT THE US SHOULD BE ABLE TO PERSUADE ITS ALLIES THAT THE CONTINUANCE OF THIS DISSUASIVE FORCE AT ROTA WAS AN INDISPENSABLE COUNTERBALANCE TO SOVIET MEDIUM RANGE MISSILES TARGETTED ON EUROPE. THE REST OF THE FACILITIES WERE IN FACT COMPLEMENTARY.

10. MCCLOSKEY REMINDED CORTINA THAT EVEN IF FACILITIES WERE REMOVED, USG'S COMMITMENT TO NATO REMAINED AND OTHER ARRANGEMENTS WOULD HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT. HE POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT A SUCCESSFUL BILATERAL AGREEMENT WOULD HELP SPANISH ARRANGEMENT WITH THE ALLIANCE.

11. FINALLY, CORTINA SUGGESTED THAT AT SOME POINT HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE SECRETARY, BUT HE THOUGHT THAT MAYBE SOME CLARIFICATION IN NEGOTIATIONS WAS NEEDED BEFORE THAT TIME. IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE SUCH A MEETING WHEN ITS RESULTS COULD BE POSITIVE AND DECISIVE. MCCLOSKEY AGREED THAT THIS WAS SENSIBLE APPROACH AND ASKED CORTINA TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH USG THROUGH AMBASSADOR STABLER.

12. MCCLOSKEY ASSURED CORTINA THAT HE WOULD REPORT FULLY HIS VIEWS TO THE SECRETARY ON HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON. STABLER

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ALLIANCE, MILITARY BASES, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: SmithRJ
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MADRID02295
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750119-0777
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750478/aaaacthc.tel
Line Count: 145
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: SmithRJ
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 JUN 2003 by SmithRJ>; APPROVED <27 OCT 2003 by SmithRJ>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MCCLOSKEY AND STABLER CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA
TAGS: PFOR, SP, US, NATO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006